

The Genealogy in the Koguryō Diaspora's Epitaph

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Introduction

In the 7th century, significant changes occurred in East Asia. In the Korean Peninsula, a war intensified between the Three Kingdoms, Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla. Meanwhile, the Tang Dynasty in China, founded in 618, expanded its territory in the 630s, and Silla and Tang joined to attack Koguryō and Paekche. After several years of warfare, their combined forces destroyed Paekche in 660 and Koguryō in 668. Subsequently, the Koguryō rebellion led to a conflict between the Silla and the Tang Dynasty, resulting in a military clash, the Silla-Tang War (670-676). As a result, the Tang Dynasty lost its power over the Korean Peninsula, and Silla became Unified Silla, ruling over the peninsula.¹

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1 Ikeuchi Hiroshi (池内宏), *Study on Mansenshi* (滿鮮史研究), Josei2 (上世2) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1960), 97-488; Noh Tae-don, *Samguk'ongiljōnjaengsa* [*The unification war of the three kingdoms*] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2009); Ueda Kiheinarichika, "The Na-Tang War : An Examination of the Epitaph of Guo Xingjie in Relation to the Chinese Military Expedition to Silla in 671," *The Journal of The Research Department of The Toyo Bunko* 96-2 (September 2014); Ueda Kiheinarichika, "Silla's consciousness to Tang in the 670s: An Examination of Samguk sagi Munmuwang 14 to 16," *The Shiteki* (史滴) 36

The Koguryō diaspora appeared during the Unification War by Silla. Generally, the people of a defeated country are called "遺民 Yumin/Yimin" in Korean and Chinese, and previous studies have referred to them as "Paekche and Koguryō Yumin."² "Paekche and Koguryō Yumin" are considered to be a type of "diaspora," which is used in sociology and anthropology to refer to displaced people who have left their homelands, such as immigrants, refugees, and overseas communities.³ After the fall of their dynasties, the people of Paekche and Koguryō lost their homelands. Some were forced to migrate to the Tang, some escaped to Japan, some remained in the Korean Peninsula and belonged to Silla, and others left for Central Asia, 突厥 Göktürks. These people have been called the "Paekche and Koguryō diaspora" by some historians.⁴

On the other hand, there is a view that these Paekche and Koguryō people were regarded as migrants or refugees by Bai Genxing and Im Tongmin.⁵ However, we can understand the situation in East Asia in

(December 2014).

- 2 For example: Noh Tae-don, *Samgukt'ongiljōnjaengsa* [The unification war of the three kingdoms] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2009); Kim Hyun-sook, "The diaspora of Goguryeo people." *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 33 (March 2004); Kim Su-jin, "Study on the refugees of Koguryo in Tang cities (唐京 高句麗 遺民 研究)." Ph.D diss., Seoul National University, 2017.
- 3 Rogers Brubaker, "The 'diaspora' diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.28, No.1(2005); Akao Mitsuharu, "From Galut to Diaspora." in *Diaspora kara sekai o yomu: Risan o kakyo suru tame ni* (ディアスポラから世界を読むー離散を架橋するため) (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 2009), 45-79; Numano Mitsuyoshi, "Introduction to Diaspora," in *Diasporas* (ユーラシア世界2 ディアスポラ論) (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2012), 1-17; Jonathan Grossman, "Toward a definition of diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no.8 (June 2019): 1263-1282.
- 4 Jung Ho-sub, "Migration and Diaspora in the History of Goguryeo," *Prehistory and Ancient History* 53 (September 2017); Lee Dong-hoon, "The Korean Diaspora in China during the Period of Wei-Jin Kingdoms, Northern and Southern Dynasties: The Research with focus on Gojoseon. Goguryeo & Buyeo-origin Expatriate Group," *The Journal for the Studies of Korean History* 72 (August 2018).

the 7th century more deeply if we consider them as diaspora rather than with terms such as migrant or refugee. The term migrant does not include those who remained in Korea, the term refugee has the same problem, and those who voluntarily belonged to the Tang Dynasty (e.g., Chŏn Namsaeng) are not included. By understanding the people of Koguryŏ as a diaspora, we can grasp the population movement phenomenon that occurred during Silla's unification between 660 and 676.

When looking to research focused on the Paekche-Koguryŏ diaspora, studies have shown that it played an essential role in Silla-Tang relations between the latter half of the 7th century and the first half of the 8th century.⁶ This study focuses on the Koguryŏ diaspora within Tang dynasty and those who migrated to mainland China. According to Kim Hyŏnsuk, research regarding the Koguryŏ diaspora can be categorized into five trends:⁷

- 1) Examination of the Tang Dynasty's rule over the territories of Koguryŏ
- 2) Tracing the Koguryŏ diaspora and their movements
- 3) Research on the "So Koguryŏ 小高句麗" in the Liaodong Peninsula
- 4) Investigation into the activities of the Koguryŏ diaspora during the Silla-Tang War and Silla's control over the Koguryŏ diaspora.

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- 5 Bai Genxing, *Study on migrants of Gaoli and Baiji* (唐代高麗百濟移民研究), Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2012; Lim Dongmin, "The Native Origins of the Paekche Refugee Ye (禰) Family and the Background of Their Activities in the Tang Dynasty," *International Journal of Korean History* Vol.22, no.2 (August 2017).
 - 6 Ueda Kiheinarichika, "The Diaspora of Baekje into Tang and Ungjin Dodokbu in Jian'an," *Journal of the Academic Association of Koreanology in Japan Chosen Gakuho* 236 (July 2015); Ueda Kiheinarichika, "The Baekje and Goguryeo Diaspora into Tang since Empress Wu's Period to Kaiyuan era," *The KoguryoBalhae Yonku* 64 (July 2019).
 - 7 Kim Hyun-Suk, "The Trend of the Koguryo Drifting People in China," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 23 (September 2001).

5) Personal Diaspora histories

The study of the Koguryō diaspora in the Tang Dynasty belongs to the second research field. The pioneering work of No T'aedon, published in the 1980s, was a remarkable addition to this body of research.⁸ Using historical materials, No comprehensively analyzed the Koguryō diaspora throughout East Asia, and this research was widely accepted in Korean academic circles. However, since then, there has been little progress in research due to the lack of historical materials.

However, the discovery of several Koguryō epitaphs in China since 2010 have attracted attention as new historical materials. These new materials have led to an increase in published research concerning Koguryō people under Tang rule.⁹

Arguments over genealogies

Using epitaphs, the genealogies of the Koguryō people have received the most research attention. Most epitaphs contain information on the deceased's life, career, achievements, and genealogy. Generally, genealogies were written to praise the family origin and ancestors' achievements. However, they attracted attention for a few different reasons. The first being that genealogy is a criterion for determining a person as Koguryō diaspora with some Koguryō epitaphs stating that the deceased were from Koguryō. In this case, there would be no ob-

8 Noh Taedon, "Study on Koguryō Yumin's history (高句麗 遺民史 研究)," in *Collection of Papers for Dr. Han Ugün's retirement age commemoration* (韓 祐勛博士 停年紀念史學論叢) (Seoul: Chisik sanōpsa, 1981), 79-108.

9 An Jeongjun and Choi Sang-ki, "Refugee families from Koguryeo and Baekje, examined through tomb epitaphs from the Tang era," *The Organization of Korean Historians* 101 (September 2016); Ueda Kiheinarichika, "Research trends in Korea on the epitaphs of the Koguryō and Paekche diaspora." *Korean culture and society* 17 (October 2018).

jection to identifying the deceased as Koguryō diaspora. Contrarily, some epitaphs vaguely mention Koguryō origins, the Koguryō state, or if their father or grandfather were from Koguryō, but state that their ancestors were Han Chinese 漢人. It is arguable whether such epitaphs can be regarded as belonging to Koguryō people. For instance, the epitaph of Tu Sōnbu 豆善富 (A) states the Tu clan's family history:

A-1 其先扶風平陵人也 十八世祖統 漢雁門太守。

A-2 避族文武之難 亡于朔野 子孫世居焉 至後魏南遷 賜紇豆陵氏。

A-3 六世祖步蕃 西魏將鎮河曲 爲北齊神武所破 遂出奔遼海 後裔因家焉 爲豆氏。¹⁰

According to the epitaph, the ancestors of Tu Sōnbu were originally Han Chinese (A-1). They later followed Northern Wei Dynasty 西魏, Xianbei Kingdom 鮮卑 (A-2), and then were exiled to Koguryō (A-3). Based on this historical record, Ch'oe Chinyōl claims that Tu Sōnbu's family came from nomadic tribes in the Hexi 河西 region and not from Koguryō. He did not recognize Tu Sōnbu as a member of the Koguryō diaspora based on his lineage.¹¹ Contrarily, An Chōngjun argues that the genealogy in Tu Sōnbu's epitaphs was a phenomenon where a family originally from Xianbei or Tuoba 拓跋 pretended to be Han Chinese. He also argued that a family that had served in Koguryō should be regarded as Koguryō diaspora; therefore, Tu Sōnbu should be considered a member of the Koguryō diaspora for his service.¹²

Thus, the genealogies in the epitaphs of Koguryō diaspora served as the basis for determining whether a person is Koguryō diaspora or not.

10 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Kaiyuan 開元 534.

11 Choi Jin-Yeoul, *Parhae kukho yōn'gu-tangjoga injōnghan parhaeüi koguryō kyesūng mugin'gwa puin* [The origin of the name of the country Balhae] (Seoul: Sogang University Press, 2015), 48-49.

12 An Jeong-jun, "The Epitaph of Duseonbu (豆善富) and a Review of His Family," *The Journal of Humanities, KyungHee University* 27 (June 2015).

However, different scholars have used varied criteria, and the number of Koguryō diaspora epitaphs has been inconsistent. Currently, 28 items are considered possible epitaphs of Koguryō diaspora (Table 1). To calculate the correct number, the definition of Koguryō diaspora must be clear and the number of epitaphs must be confirmed.

The second reason such epitaphs received scholarly attention is because the epitaphs showed that Parhae had inherited Koguryō. Some of the epitaphs of Koguryō diaspora after the 8th century describe their origin as "Parhae."

B-1 公諱震 字某 渤海人。

B-2 祖藏 開府儀同三司工部尚書朝鮮郡王柳城郡開國公。¹³

According to the epitaph of Ko Chin 高震 (B), his grandfather was Ko Chang 高藏 (B-2), the last king of Koguryō, King Pojang 宝藏王. The epitaph of Ko Chin, a descendant of a royal Koguryō family, states that his origin was from "Parhae/Bohai 渤海" (B-1).

Two controversial opinions have arisen over the description of "Parhae/Bohai" on the epitaph. One regards "Parhae" as the Parhae Dynasty, founded in 698.¹⁴ According to No T'aedon, the Parhae Dynasty claimed to have succeeded Koguryō. Therefore, it was understood that Ko Chin mentioned his origin as "Parhae" after Parhae was founded. This opinion is widely accepted in Korean academic circles.

The other opinion is that the "Parhae/Bohai" origin refers to the Bohai Commandery 渤海郡 in mainland China and not to the Parhae Dynasty.¹⁵ According to Ma Yihong, any ethnic group different from

13 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Dali 大曆 075.

14 Noh Taedon, "Study on Koguryō Yumin's history"; Kim Hyun-sook, "The diaspora of Goguryeo people," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 33 (March 2004).

15 Ma Yihong, "View on the Ownership Awareness of the Kao-kou-li Adherets Submitted to Tang Dynasty According to the Unearthed Tomb Table," *Northern*

the Han Chinese, but belonging to the Chinese Dynasty, falsely claimed that their ancestors were Han Chinese. The Bohai Gao clan 渤海高氏, whose origin is "Bohai," was a famous Han Chinese family. As was the custom, the "Bohai" in Ko Jang's epitaph, could have belonged to the prestigious Bohai Gao clan and had no relation to the Parhae Dynasty. Chinese academic circles support this opinion.

Recently, based on new data, Kwōn Ŭnju argued that the "Parhae" in Ko Chin's epitaph refers to the Parhae Dynasty.¹⁶ Kwōn Ŭnju analyzed the epitaphs of a father and son, Ko Hūmdōk and Ko Wōnmang. The father, Ko Hūmdōk's, in his epitaph states his origin as "Parhae," while Ko Wōnmang states his origin as "Yin 殷." This disparity appears because in 733, Ko Hūmdōk's year of death, relations between the Tang and Parhae Dynasty were good; however, by Ko Wōnmang's death in 740, relations between the two dynasties worsened and war broke out. Therefore, the family could not mention "Parhae," a hostile country, as their origin. In other words, when considering the circumstances related to the origin change from "Parhae" to "Yin," it can be said that "Parhae" should be recognized as referring to the Parhae Dynasty.

This argument between the recognition of the Bohai commandery and the Parhae Dynasty has not been settled because the epitaphs of Koguryō diaspora are limited and there are not enough case studies. In this study, a comprehensive comparative analysis of all the genealogies among discovered Koguryō diaspora epitaphs will help to bring this debate to a clear conclusion.

The third factor that draws attention to the epitaphs is the fact that assimilation of the Koguryō diaspora into the Tang Dynasty is indicated. The epitaphs of the first generation of Koguryō who migrated to the

Cultural Relecs (北方文物) 2006-1 (February 2006).

16 Kwen EunJu, "Study of the Epitaphs of Go Heum-deok (高欽德) and Go Won-mang (高遠望), the displaced of Goguryeo (高句麗)," *Daegu Sahak* 116 (August 2014).

Tang Dynasty state that they were from Koguryō. In contrast, the epitaphs of the second and third generations of Koguryō diaspora, after the 8th century, indicate that they originated from mainland China. The epitaphs of the Chōn clan 泉氏 serve as a typical example of this.

C 公姓泉 諱男生 字元德 遼東郡平壤城人也.¹⁷

D 君諱獻誠 字獻誠 其先高句驪國人也.¹⁸

E 君諱男產 遼東朝鮮人也.¹⁹

F 諱毖 字孟堅 京兆萬年人也.²⁰

Chōn Namsaeng (C) and Chōn Namsan (E) were brothers. Chōn Hōnsōng (D) was Chōn Namsaeng's son, and Chōn Pi (F) was his great-grandson who was born in Tang territory. Chōn Hōnsōng's epitaph says his origin was from "Koguryō" (D). The epitaphs of Chōn Namsaeng and Chōn Namsan state their origin was "Liaodong 遼東" (C, E), which also indicates Koguryō.²¹ Thus, the first generation's epitaphs clearly show that they were from Koguryō. However, the epitaph of Chōn Pi, of the third generation, states that he was from Wannian-prefecture in Chang'an 京兆萬年 of the Tang Dynasty (F). No text in-

17 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Tiaolu 調露 023.

18 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Dazu 大足 001.

19 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Chan'an 長安 008.

20 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Kaiyuan 開元 378.

21 As kings of Koguryō got the title of "king of Liaodong commandery 遼東郡王" from the Tang emperor, "Liaodong" usually meant Koguryō in the Tang period. See, *Jiu Tanshu* 舊唐書, 199上, Liezhuan 149上, Gaoli 高麗.

dicates Koguryō in his epitaph.

No T'aedon, Kim Hyōnsuk, and Yi Mungi have suggested that this indicates the third-generation assimilation of Chōn clans into the Tang Dynasty.²² Recently, however, Yi Sōngje argued against this conclusion.²³ According to Yi Sōngje, the genealogies in epitaphs are sometimes subject to arbitrary changes unrelated to actual assimilation progress.

Chinese history scholars have remarked on the arbitrary nature of the genealogy in the Koguryō epitaphs.²⁴ Examinations of the Paekche diaspora epitaphs indicate that some epitaphs were written with consideration of the political situation within the Tang Dynasty.²⁵ Therefore, it is necessary to be cautious about using an origin change in these epitaphs as evidence of assimilation without scrutinizing these materials.

To solve this problem, this study conducts two investigations. The first is to examine epitaphs of the Koguryō diaspora besides those of the Chōn clan and giving special focus to the epitaphs having the family name Ko. The second is to find concrete evidence of assimilation outside of genealogies.²⁶

22 Noh Taedon, "Study on Koguryō Yumin's history"; Kim Hyun-sook, "The diaspora of Goguryeo people"; Lee Moon-Key, "The Change of the Consciousness on their Ancestors of Koguryo Peoples lived in the Tang seen from their Tombstones," *Daegu Sahak* 100 (August 2010).

23 Lee Seong-je, "Origin Records of Koguryo and Baekje Migrants' Epitaphs and the Significance," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 75 (September 2014).

24 Iwami Kiyohiro, "General view of the epitaphs of the first half of the Tang Era," *The Journal of Tang historical studies* 10 (August 2007); Sonoda Shunsuke, "The Xiongnu Liu family's founder legend in the Northern and Southern dynasties," *Bulletin of graduate studies, Chuo University* (中央大学大学院研究年報) 34 (January 2004); Sonoda Shunsuke, "The Tuoba family's founder legend from the Northern Wei to the Eastern Wei and the Western Wei," *The Shiteki* (史滴) 27 (December 2005).

25 Ueda Kiheinarichika, "Records of the Baekje Diaspora into Tang: An Analysis of Epitaphs of Heukji Sangji and His Son Jun," *Cultura antiqua* 70-4 (March 2019).

26 I have recently discussed assimilation of Koguryō diaspora in the other article. See, Ueda Kiheinarichika, *Silla-Tang Relations and the Paekje-Koguryō Diaspora*

Definitions of the Koguryō Diaspora and the number of their epitaphs

The Koguryō diaspora is considered to have occurred during the Silla unification process. If the Koguryō people belonging to the Tang Dynasty during Koguryō's collapse from the 640s to 668 match one of the following three criteria, they are considered Koguryō diaspora under the Tang Dynasty.

1. The description of the deceased or its family origin in an epitaph is written "Koguryō" or words symbolizing it.
2. The deceased or his/her ancestors were born in Koguryō or received a position of authority in Koguryō.
3. Descendants of those who match the criteria of 1 or 2.

Based on these three criteria, epitaphs 1 to 26 can be considered as belonging to the Koguryō diaspora. Epitaphs 15, 17, 18, 20, and 22, which require particular explanation, are discussed in detail below.

The following two epitaphs, Ko Yōngsuk 高英淑 (G) and Sasōn Ūiil 似先義逸 (H), are excluded from the Koguryō diaspora.

G-1 夫人諱 字英淑 昌黎孤竹人也...

G-2 曾祖諱會 魏金紫光祿太夫 本蕃大首領 金章紫綬 鐵騎朱旗 ... 祖諱農 隋雲麾將軍 右武侯中郎將 本蕃大首領 ... 父諱路 唐銀青光祿大夫 行師州刺史諸軍事 上柱國 安陵縣開國公 食邑五千戶。²⁷

H 昔周孝王□□□有酷肖其先者 命爲似先氏 其後或居遼東 或遷中部。²⁸

in Ancient East Asia (新羅・唐關係と百濟・高句麗遺民) (Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha Ltd, 2022), 173-192.

27 Wang Jingchen, *Liaoning Beizhi* (辽宁碑志) (Shenyang: Liaoning people's publishing house, 2002), 103.

28 *Xin Zhongguo chutu muzhi: Shanxi (2)* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 261.

Ko Yōngsuk's epitaph lists her origin as "Changli Guzhu 昌黎孤竹" (G-1), a place in Liaoxi 遼西, not in Koguryō. Furthermore, her father, Ko Ro 高路, was a "military officer of Shizhou Province 行師州刺史諸軍事," a province where Qidan 契丹 people lived, suggesting that her origin was from Qidan.²⁹ However, since her family name was Ko, her family could be from Koguryō.³⁰ Regardless, since her great-grandfather served in the Northern Wei Dynasty (G-2), her family should have belonged to the Chinese Dynasty before the 7th century. Therefore, she does not match the criteria of Koguryō diaspora.

The word "Liaodong" can be found in the epitaph of Sasōn Ūiil. In addition, another record states that the family name "Sasōn" came from Koguryō.³¹ Therefore, his family may be of Koguryō origins.³² However, it is unclear when his family moved to the Tang Dynasty.³³

29 Moribe Yutaka, "Some recently discovered stone engravings as historical sources for the study of the Xi and Qidan peoples in the Tang dynasty," *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental studies, Kansai University* 49 (April 2016); Moribe Yutaka, "Ying-zhou 营州: A case Study of Autonomous Administration (Jimizhou 羈縻州), Barbarian Soliders, and Military Institutions during the First Half of the Tang Dynasty." in *Military Control of a Multi-ethnic Society in Early China: What Excavated Manuscripts Can Tell Us* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2018): 311-326.

30 Kwen EunJu, "The Study on the Epitaph of Ko Youngsook in Youngju of Tang," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 84 (December 2016).

31 "似先氏 本高麗餘種也." *Tongzhi* 通志 29, Shizu 5, Chufangfuxing.

32 Ma Yongzhong and Zhang Anxing, "Study on Tang Sixian Yiyi's epitaph," *Beilinjian* (碑林集刊) 3 (December 1995): 95-101; Bai Genxing, *Study on migrants of Gaoli and Baiji* (唐代高麗百濟移民研究) (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2012); Tsuchiya Masaaki, "Taoism and Korea and Its Students to China in the Tang Dynasty," *Ancient East Asia and Students Abroad in Global Perspective The Center For Historical Studies East Asia* (専修大学東アジア世界史研究センター年報) 4 (March 2010); Yun Yong-gu, "Research Trends of Epitaphs, Excavated in China, for Displaced Peoples of Koguryo and Paekche," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 75 (September 2014): 61-103; Lee Dong-hoon, "The Korean Diaspora in China during the Period of Wei-Jin Kingdoms, Northern and Southern Dynasties."

33 According to Tsuchiya, the stone monument, Xianxi sheng Yongshou xian Tai

Furthermore, his epitaph was made in 850, much later than other epitaphs of Koguryō diaspora. For these reasons, although his roots could have been in Koguryō, it is difficult to determine whether he was a member of the Koguryō diaspora.

The controversy concerning epitaphs 18 Tu Sōnbu and 20 Yu Wōnjōng can be explained through the definition of Koguryō diaspora indicated above. First, Tu Sōnbu should be regarded as a Koguryō diaspora. His epitaph mentions that his father, Tu Pujol 豆夫卒, immigrated to the Tang Dynasty after its expedition to Koguryō,³⁴ which indicates that Tu Sōnbu's family almost certainly served in Koguryō. Even if the family was from Xianbei, they must have been of the Xianbei-Koguryō people.³⁵ In addition, Yu Wōnjōng, whose ancestor may have been Liu Cang 劉蒼, the king of Dongpingxian 東平憲王, a son of Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 of the Later Han Dynasty, should also be regarded as a member of Koguryō diaspora.³⁶ According to his epitaph, the eighth ancestor, Yu Hōn 劉軒, immigrated to Koguryō, and his grandfather, Yu Ru 劉婁, served in Koguryō as a Yoksal 褥薩.³⁷ The fact that Koguryō was an ethnically diverse society suggests that people of Han and Xianbei should also be considered as Koguryō diaspora.³⁸

xiang Che cun Beiwei Zhaoxiang bei 陝西省永壽縣永泰鄉車村北魏造像碑, made in the Northern Wei shows that four people had their family name “似先.”

34 皇唐征有遼之不庭 兵戈次玄兔之野 君考夫卒慕遠祖融河外納款 遂斬九夷列城之將 稽顙旌門。

35 An Jeong-jun, “The Epitaph of Duseonbu (豆善富) and a Review of His Family.”

36 An Jeong-jun, “The Epitaphs of Yu Wonjeong and His Wife Wang, Descendants of Goguryeo Refugees During Tang Dynasty: Case of Activities of Descendants of Goguryeo Refugees in the Early Eighth Century,” *Wooden Documents and Inscriptions Studies* 23 (December 2019).

37 八代祖軒 仕馮燕爲博士郎中 卒。子孫從燕遷于遼。祖婁 寄遼爲褥薩 視中之將軍也。

38 Takeda Yukio, *Koguryō's history and East Asia* (高句麗史と東アジア) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), 59-77.

I-1 公曰仁德 族李氏 其先蓋樂浪望族也。

I-2 自堯臣類馬 周史猶龍 真裔散於殊方 保姓傳於弈代。

I-3 考甲子 皇贈定州別駕。天上降成綸之恩 地下光題輿之寵 公即別駕府君之元子也。³⁹

The ancestry of Yi Indök's 李仁德 epitaph (I) is unclear. His father, Yi Kapja, received the position of Jeongzhou Biejia 定州別駕 from the Tang Dynasty, but the word "gift 贈" before the title means he received it after his death (I-3). It is uncertain whether Yi Kapja served the Tang Dynasty or Koguryō during his lifetime. Yi Indök was born in 673, after the collapse of Koguryō, and it is generally accepted that he did not serve under Koguryō. His epitaph says, "his ancestor was a famous, powerful family in Nangnang 其先蓋樂浪望族" (I-1). The word "Nangnang" was an expression that originated from Nangnang-gun 樂浪郡, a Commandery once established in the northwestern part of the Korean Peninsula and referred to as the Korean Peninsula within the Tang documents. Therefore, Bai Geunxing and Yi Tonghun suggested that Yi In-dök was a member of the Koguryō diaspora.⁴⁰

In contrast, Kim Sujin argues that these opinions do not hold weight as evidence that Yi Indök was a product of the Koguryō diaspora.⁴¹ According to Kim Sujin, his title "Jincheng xian/jun 金城縣/郡" and his residence at "Liquan-li 醴泉里" imply that Yi Indök was from the western region of China. Jincheng is currently known as Lanzhou 蘭州, in the western region of mainland China. Generally, a place's name given as a title is the family's home or origin. Moreover, many people from the western region, such as those from the Bashihu Temple 波斯胡寺

39 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Kaiyuan 開元 370.

40 Bai Genxing, *Study on migrants of Gaoli and Baiji*; Lee Dong-hoon, "The Korean Diaspora in China during the Period of Wei-Jin Kingdoms, Northern and Southern Dynasties":

41 Kim Su-jin, "Study on the refugees of Koguryo in Tang cities (唐京 高句麗 遺民 研究)," Ph.D diss., Seoul National University, 2017.

and the Sogdian An Jinzang 安金藏 residents, lived in Liquan-li.

Kim Sujin makes a valid rebuttal; however, a detailed examination of Yi Indök's epitaph reveals a different conclusion. First, the mention of a person as having lived in Liquan-li does not guarantee that they were from the western region. There were indeed many Sogdian settlements in Liquan-li, among other settlements. For example, there was the Taipinggonzhu 太平公主 residence of Empress Wu's daughter, and the Zong Chuke 宗楚客 residence of a minister between the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th century.⁴²

Second, having the Jincheng title did not mean that one was from Lanzhou. As mentioned above, a title as a place's name was generally related to the hometown or the origin of one's family. However, this is not absolute proof. For example, Li Xin 李信's home town is "Longxi Chengji 隴西成紀," but his title was "Qingshan-xian Kaiguonan 青山縣開國男";⁴³ Li Wulyu 李無慮's home town is "Longxi," but his title was "Pingji-xian Kaiguonan 平棘縣開國男";⁴⁴ and Li Liang 李良 moved his family home from "Longxi" to "汝 Ru," but his title was "the king of Xunzheng-jun 順正郡王."⁴⁵ The titles of these three people were not related to where the family originated. Therefore, "金城郡開國男" in Yi Indök's epitaph does not mean that he was from Lanzhou or that his family's hometown was there.

Third, the interpretation that "the descendants were spread out in far

42 Xu Song, *Tang Liangjing Chengfang kao* (唐兩京城坊攷). Translated by Otagi Hajime. (Tokyo: Heisonsha, 1994).

43 "Li Xin's epitaph." Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao. *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Kaiyuan 開元 232.

44 "Li Wulü's epitaph." Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao. *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Kaiyuan 開元 288.

45 "Li Liang's epitaph." Zhou Shaoliang and Zhao Chao. *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Zhenyuan 貞元 101.

places and passed down the family name from generation to generation 眞裔散於殊方 保姓傳於弈代" (I-2) proves Yi Indök was a person of the Koguryö diaspora. The word "shufang 殊方" can be interpreted as a foreign place or outside Zhonghua 中華. As Kim Sujin pointed out, "shufang" is indeed used to describe a region far from Zhonghua, such as Lanzhou.⁴⁶ However, it is also commonly used to refer to a foreign country.⁴⁷ Examining the meaning of "Nangnang" shows it is more natural to interpret "shufang" as a foreign country.

Fourth, the interpretation of "Nangnang" will be examined. Kim Sujin argues that no other Koguryö-related place names except for "Nangnang" raised suspicion as to whether he was a person of the Koguryö diaspora.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the word "Nangnang" stands as evidence that there is no question he was. In the Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 dynasties, the word "Nangnang" was often used to refer to Koguryö. The emperor of China's southern dynasty gave the Koguryö king the title of "Nangnang-gong 樂浪公."⁴⁹ When Emperor Yang 煬帝 organized an expeditionary force to Koguryö, one of its routes was called "Nangnang-do 樂浪道."⁵⁰ In addition, the word "Nangnang" also referred to the Korean Peninsula, including Silla and Paekche. The title of the King of Silla was "Nangnanggun-gong 樂浪郡公" or "King of Nangnang-gun, 樂浪郡王,"⁵¹ the title of "Nangnanggun-gong" was held by Puyö Munsön

46 Kim Su-jin, "Study on the refugees of Koguryo in Tang cities."

47 "夜郎 康居 殊方萬里 說德歸誼 此太平之致也," *Hanshu* 漢書 56, Liezhuan 26, Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒; "其九服之制 可得而言也。然荒域之外 重譯而至 非足跡車軌所及 未有知其國俗殊方者也," *Sanguozhi* 三國志 30, Dongyinzhuàn 東夷傳; "蠻夷戎狄 殊方異類 重譯而至者 日月於闕廷," *Jiutangshu* 舊唐書 23, Liyizhi 禮儀志 3, Fengshan 封禪.

48 Kim Su-jin, "Study on the refugees of Koguryo in Tang cities."

49 Kaneko Shuichi, *Study on ancient East Asia history* (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2019), 471-476.

50 *Suishu* 隋書 4, Yandibengji 煬帝本紀, Daye 8nian Zhengyue Renwu 大業8年春正月壬午條.

51 Kaneko Shuichi, *Study on ancient East Asia history*, 277-301; Lee Sungsi,

扶餘文宣 of the Paekche diaspora,⁵² and the title of "Mrs. Nangnang-gun 樂浪郡公夫人" was held by lady Hükchi, the wife of Mulbu Sun.⁵³ Both husband and wife were part of the Paekche diaspora. Therefore, the term "Nangnang mangjok 樂浪望族" should indicate that Yi Indök's ancestors were from Koguryō or the Korean Peninsula.

The epitaph of Yi Ŭnji 李隱之 (K) serves as proof for interpreting the word "Nangnang" as Koguryō. The epitaph of Yi Ŭnji's son, Yi Hoe 李懷 (J), was discovered before the epitaph of Yi Ŭnji was found, and there was a difference in opinion as to whether Yi Hoe was of the Koguryō diaspora.

J-1 其先趙郡贊皇人也。

J-2 昔晉氏乘乾 遼川塵起 帝欲親伐 實要□□。公十二葉祖敏爲河內太守 預其選也。克滅之後 遂留柘鎮 俗賴其利 因爲遼東人。

J-3 至孫胤 舉孝廉 仕至河南尹 加特進 遷尚書令 晉之崇也。...

J-4 曾祖敬 隋襄平郡從事。太宗東幸海關 訪晉尚書令李公之後 僉曰末孫 夜在。帝許大用 盡室公行 爰至長安 未貴而沒。⁵⁴

K-1 公諱隱之 字大取 其先遼東人也。晉尚書令胤卽其枝類。

K-2 祖敬父直 或孝德動天 馳名於樂浪 或忠勤濟物 譽表於夫餘。

K-3 公厭海壖之風 慕洛汭之化 重譯納貢 隨牒受官。⁵⁵

Yi Hoe's epitaph indicates that the 12th generation ancestors migrated to Liaodong (J-2), and Yi Hoe's father or grandfather immi-

"East Asia in 6-8th century and 'East Asia world' theory," in *Iwanamikoza Nihon rekishi* 岩波講座 日本歴史 2. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2014), 217-219.

52 "文宣 司膳卿 左衛大將軍 樂浪郡公," *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂 2, Fuyu 夫餘.

53 Park Hyun-kyu, "The 15th Cavern of Tianlong (天龍山) Mountains' Stone Caves and the Account for General Mulbusun's (勿部珣) Charitable Deed," *Humanities Journal*, Sogang University 25 (June 2009).

54 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Tianbao 天寶 064.

55 Lou Zhenghao, "Li Yinzhi' family: the Goguryeo adherents in Tang China," *Society for the Study of Early Korean History* 21 (December 2015).

grated to the Tang Dynasty during the Tang Taizong唐太宗's expedition to Koguryō (J-4). On the basis of these two records, Bai Gunxing suggested that Yi Hoe may have been of the Koguryō diaspora.⁵⁶ Contrarily, Lee Donghun questioned his Koguryō origins because the description on his epitaph was "Zhaojun Zanhuang 趙郡贊皇" (J-1), which had no relation to Koguryō. Moreover, there were no specific achievements that took place in Koguryō.⁵⁷ The reason for this doubt is similar to that of Yi Indök. However, when the epitaph of his father, Yi Ŭnji, was discovered, it became clear that the family of Yi Ŭnji and Yi Hoe was part of Koguryō diaspora. The epitaph of Yi Ŭnji states that his ancestors were from Liaodong (K-1), his grandfather and father were active in "Nangnang" and "Puyō 夫餘" (K-2), and he came to the Tang Dynasty from outer China (K-3). In other words, the "Liaodong" in Yi Hoe's epigraph means Koguryō.

In this case, it is better to regard "Nangnang" as referring to Koguryō. Even if there are no specific achievements in Koguryō in an epitaph, the deceased may be of the Koguryō diaspora. Therefore, Yi Indök, whose epitaph says his origin was "Nangnang," is also a person of Koguryō diaspora.

Typology of genealogie

As mentioned in section 2, Chōn Pi's epitaph (of the third generation) does not use Koguryō-related words but says that their hometown was Chang'an. Does the change in genealogy signify the assimilation of Koguryō people into the Tang Dynasty?

As mentioned in section 3, there are 26 epitaphs of the Koguryō

56 Bai, *Study on migrants of Gaoli and Baiji*, 173.

57 Lee Dong-hoon, "A Study on Goguryeo & Baekje Immigrants' Grave Epitaph Composition and its Drafter," *The Journal of Korean Ancient History* 76 (December 2014).

diaspora. Said epitaphs were made over a period of one hundred years, making the range too wide to analyze them all at once. This paper divides them into four periods based on the compilation time, about 30 years apart (Table 2). Based on this classification, Chōn Namsaeng's epitaph belongs to the first period, Chōn Namsan and Chōn Hōnsōng belong to the second period, and the epitaph of Chōn Pi to the third period. In other words, changes in the genealogy of the Chōn clan occurred between the second and third periods.

To consider the meaning of the changes from the second to the third period, it is necessary to analyze the genealogies of 14 epitaphs with the family name Ko by period. Through this examination, it will be possible to categorize their genealogies and identify changes and trends.

There are two epitaphs in the first period: Ko Yomyo高饒苗's epitaph (L) and Ko Chesōk高提昔's epitaph (M).

L-1 君諱字 遼東人也。

L-2 族高辰卞 價重珣琪。背滄海而來王 仰玄風而入仕。⁵⁸

M-1 夫人諱提昔 本國內城人也。...

M-2 曾祖伏仁大相 水境城道使 遼東城大首領。祖支于 唐易州刺史 長岑 縣開國伯 上柱國。父文協 宣威將軍 右衛高陵府長上折衝都尉 上柱國。⁵⁹

Ko Yomyo's epitaph says his origin was "Liaodong," indicating him to be from Koguryō (L-1). As for the achievements of his ancestors, it only abstractly mentions them as a famous family in "Chinhan 辰韓" and "Pyonhan 弁韓," meaning the Korean Peninsula (L-2). Ko Chesōk's

58 Zhan Yan, "Tang Gaoli yimin GaoRaomiaoz muzhi kaolüe 唐高麗遺民《高饒苗墓志》考略," *Wenbo* 文博 2010-5 (September 2010).

59 Kim Youngkwan, "A Study on the Epitaph of Gojeseok (高提昔), former Goguryo People," *The Paek-San Hakpo* 97 (December 2013).

epitaph says her origin was from "Kungnaesōng 國內城" (M-1), the former capital of Koguryō. Furthermore, it refers to her great-grandfather's official position in Koguryō (M-2), indicating that he was of the Koguryō diaspora. In these two examples, the deceased's origin from Koguryō is expressed directly and with little rhetoric. These early patterns of genealogies are called "prototypes."

The following section examines six epitaphs from the second period.

N-1 君諱玄 字貴王 遼東三韓人也。昔唐家馭曆 并吞天下 四方合應 啓
類來降 而東夷不實據青海而成國。

N-2 公志懷雅略 有先見之明。棄彼遺甿 從男生而仰化 慕斯聖教 自東徙
而來王。因而家貫西京 編名赤縣。

N-3 曾祖寶 任本州都督。祖方 任平壤城刺史。父廉 唐朝贈泉州司馬。⁶⁰

O-1 君諱牟 字仇 安東人也。

O-2 族茂辰韓 雄門譽偃。傳芳穢陌 聲高馬邑。⁶¹

P-1 □諱德 卞囿東部人也。

P-2 昔火政龍興 炎靈虜據。三韓競霸 四海騰波。白日降精 朱蒙誕孽。大
治燕土 正統遼陽。自天而下 因命爲姓。公家氏族 卽其後也。...

P-3 祖岑東部受建武太王中裏小兒 執垆事。... 遷受遼府都督。卽奉教 追受
對盧官 依舊執垆事 任評臺之職。父孚受寶藏王中裏小兒 任南蘇道史 遷
陟大兄 任海谷府都督 又遷受太相 任司府大夫 承襲執垆事。⁶²

Ko Hyōn 高玄's epitaph (N) says his origin was from "Liaodong Sanhan", which also refers to Koguryō. When the Tang Dynasty was

60 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian Xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2001), Tianshou 天授 015.

61 Lou Zhenghao, "Goguryeo Exiles in Tang China: Gomo," *The Journal for the Studies of Korean History* 53 (November 2013).

62 Ge, Jiyong, "The Newly unearthed Epitaph of the Goguryeo Immigrant Gao Yide in Tang Dynasty and the Late Domestic and Foreign Affairs of Goguryeo," *Ancient Korean History* 79 (September 2015), Translated by Lee You-pyo.

founded, Koguryō became hostile toward the Tang dynasty (N-1). However, the deceased had the foresight to join the Tang Dynasty with Chōn Namsaeng (N-2), and the official positions of his great-grandfather and father were thus recorded (N-3).

Ko Mo 高牟's epitaph (O) lists his origin as being from "Andong" (O-1). After Andong Tohobu 安東都護府 was established in the former territory of Koguryō, this term also referred to Koguryō. Although no specific achievements of his ancestors were mentioned, there are expressions that his ancestors were active in the lands of "Chinhan" and "Yemaek 穢陌," which are terms related to Koguryō (O-2).

Ko Ŭldōk 高乙德's epitaph (P) says his origin is from "Pyōnguk Tongbu 卞圀東部" (P-1), which likely refers to "Pyōnhan."⁶³ This word refers definitively to Koguryō because the following sentence describes the ancestors' achievements by stating, "The sun's rays came down, and Chumong 朱蒙 was born," thus referring to the myth of Koguryō's founder (P-2). It also mentions his grandfather and father's service to King Konmu 建武王 and King Pojang, respectively (P-3).

In all three cases above, the deceased or their ancestors are indicated to be from Koguryō. These can be the "prototypes" seen in the first period. Three cases in the second period can be classified as "prototypes."

Q-1 公諱足酉 字足酉 遼東平壤人也。

Q-2 乃効款而住 遂家於洛州永昌縣焉。

Q-3 族本殷家 因生代承 口居玄菟。獨擅雄蕃 今罄大誠 特隆殊寵。

63 Ge Jiyong, "The Newly unearthed Epitaph of the Goguryeo Immigrant Gao Yide in Tang Dynasty and the Late Domestic and Foreign Affairs of Goguryeom"; Lee Seong-je, "The Family and Life story of a certain Koguryeo Military Commander: An annotated translation and analysis of a newly discovered (epitaph for Go Eul-deok (高乙德)),” *Historical Studies of Ancient and Medieval China* 38 (November 2015); Jeong Dong-jun, "The memorial inscription of Go Euldeok (高乙德),” *Wooden Documents and Inscriptions Studies* 17 (December 2016).

- R-1 公諱質 字性文 遼東朝鮮人也。
- R-2 青丘日域 聳曾構而凌霄 滄海谷王 廓長源而繞地。白狼餘祉 箕子之苗裔寔繁 玄鰲殊祥河孫之派流彌遠。
- R-3 十九代祖密 後漢末以破燕軍存本國有功 封爲王 三讓不受 因賜姓高氏 食邑三千戶。...
- R-4 曾祖前 本蕃三品位頭大兄。祖式 二品莫離支 獨知國政及兵馬事。父量 三品柵城都督位頭大兄兼大相。竝材望雄傑 匡翊本藩 聲芬暢遠 播聞中國。⁶⁴
- S-1 公諱慈 字智捷 朝鮮人也。
- S-2 先祖隨朱蒙王平海東諸夷 建高麗國 已後代爲公侯宰相。至後漢末 高麗與燕慕容戰大敗國幾將滅。廿代祖密當提戈獨入 斬首尤多 因破燕軍 重存本國。賜封爲王 三讓不受 因賜姓高 食邑三千戶。...
- S-3 曾祖式 本蕃任二品莫離支 ... 祖量 本蕃任三品柵城都督位頭大兄兼大相 ... 父文 本蕃任三品位頭大兄兼將軍。⁶⁵

Ko Chogyu 高足酉's epitaph (Q) says that he originated from "Liaodong Pingyang" (Q-1), and he migrated to the Tang Dynasty (Q-2), indicating he is of the Koguryō diaspora. Interestingly, this epitaph says that his ancestors were Yin people, and their descendants migrated to Hyōndo, which denotes Koguryō (Q-3). Based on this epitaph narrative, the deceased is a descendant of the Yin dynasty who migrated to the Korean Peninsula.⁶⁶

Ko Chil 高質 (R) was a person who served in Koguryō and later in the Tang Dynasty, which meant he was a part of the Koguryō diaspora. His origin was "Liaodong Chosŏn" (R-1), and his great-

64 *Quan Tang wen buyi: Qiantangzhizhai xinzhang quanji* 全唐文補遺: 千唐誌齋新藏專輯 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 2006), 79-81.

65 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Shengli 聖曆 044.

66 Lee Moon-key, "Examination on the Ko Chogyu's epitaph." *History Education Review* 26(February 2001); Bai Genxing, *Study on migrants of Gaoli and Baiji*.

grandfather, grandfather, and father all held official positions in Koguryō (R-4), further indicating that he was of the Koguryō diaspora. What is important here is the narrative about the Koguryō founder. The descendants of Qizi have been growing, and the lineage of Hason, Chumong, the Koguryō's founder, has been continued (R-2). It should be noted that the Qizi legend is cited here. Qizi is a sage who existed at the end of the Yin Dynasty in ancient China. According to the Qizi legend, he left China for Korea after the collapse of the Yin Dynasty.⁶⁷ The R-2 article is presumed to be based on the Qizi legend. "Yin" seen in Q-3 can be regarded as one of the types of the Qizi legend. Such Koguryō people refer to their ancestors as descendants of the Yin Dynasty or Qizi. This article calls them the "Yin and Qizi-type."

The epitaphs of Ko Cha 高慈 (S), the son of Ko Chil, state his origin as "Chosön" like his father (S-1). The official positions of his father and his great-grandfather were the same as in his father's epitaph (S-3). However, unlike his father, there is no mention of "Qizi" in his ancestry, only that his ancestor was a retainer who followed Chumong and became a noble in Koguryō (S-2). For this reason, it can be regarded as another of the "prototypes."

The following section examines four epitaphs in the third period.

T-1 諱木盧 渤海裔人也。

T-2 昔太公輔周 肇開王業 天眷錫命 受封東齊 鍾鼎玉食 七百餘載。後遇
田和篡奪 分居荒裔 君之遠祖 避難海隅。⁶⁸

U-1 府君諱德 字元光 其先渤海人也。

U-2 漸離之後 自五馬浮江 雙鵝出地 府君先代 避難遼陽 因爲遼陽口族。

67 Ebata Takeshi, "Development of Kija Chosön's legend," *Journal of Hannan University Humanities & natural science* 25-1~3 (December 1989); Ebata Takeshi, "Formation of Kija Chosön's legend," *Journal of Hannan University Humanities & natural science* 18-4 (March 1983).

68 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian Xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2001), Kaiyuan 開元 096.

U-3 洎隋原鹿走 唐祚龍興 廓四海而爲家 奄八紘而取俊 府君祖宗 戀恩歸本 屬乎仗內 侍衛紫宸。⁶⁹

V-1 公諱欽德 字應休 渤海人也。

V-2 曾祖瑗 建安州都督。祖懷 襲爵建安州都督。父千 唐左玉鈐衛中郎。公卽先君仲子也。⁷⁰

W-1 君諱遠望 字幼敏 先殷人也。...

W-2 比干以忠諫而死 故其子去國 因家于遼東焉。

W-3 貞耿冠乎曩時 遭烈光乎史籍 卽君始祖也。其地這烏丸 鮮卑 接夫餘 肅慎。東征西討 其邑里或遷于河北勃海高氏 則其宗盟 或留於漠南。

W-4 曾祖懷 唐雲麾將軍 建安州都督。祖千 唐左玉鈐衛中郎 襲爵建安州都督。父欽德 襲建州都督 皇右武衛將軍 幽州副節度知平盧軍事。⁷¹

Ko Mokro 高木盧's epitaph (T) traces his origin to "Bohai" (T-1), the hometown of the famous Han Chinese Bohai Gao clan.⁷² At first glance, he does not look like a person of the Koguryō diaspora. However, a closer look at the distant ancestor's records shows that he moved to "Haiyu 海隅," Koguryō, during a turbulent period in Chinese history (T-2).

Ko Tōk 高德's epitaph (U) says that he originated from "Bohai" (U-1) during the Yongjia Rebellion in the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms. His ancestors then moved to Liaoyang, Koguryō (U-2). Later, when the Tang Dynasty was founded, the family relocated to Tang territory (U-3).⁷³

69 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Tianbao 天寶 008.

70 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian Xuji* 唐代墓誌彙編續集 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 2001), Kaiyuan 開元 376.

71 *Quan Tang wen buyi: Qiantangzhizhai xinzhang quanji* 全唐文補遺: 千唐誌齋新藏專輯 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 2006), 196-197.

72 *Xintangshu* 新唐書 71下, Zaixiangshixibial 宰相世系表 1下, Gaoshi 高氏.

73 Lee Dong-hoon, "Displaced people of Goguryo, Godek (高德) and 'Godek's

Ko Hŭmdŏk 高欽德's (V) originated from "Bohai" (V-1), and his ancestors served as the governors of Jian'an and other provinces in Koguryŏ; however, it is not clearly indicated that he was of the Koguryŏ diaspora (V-2). Yet, the narrative in his son Ko Wŏngmang 高遠望's epitaph (W) indicated that his family was of Koguryŏ diaspora. Thus, the epitaphs in the third period referred to the same hometown as that of the famous Han Chinese clan, the Bohai Gao clan, making it unclear whether they were a part of the Koguryŏ diaspora. This article calls this ancestor narrative the "Bohai-type."

Ko Wŏngmang was the son of the Ko Hŭmdŏk. His ancestors were said to be "Yin people" (W-1), and his early ancestor Qizi lived in Liaodong, Koguryŏ (W-2). Although there are some discrepancies in the records of Ko Wŏngman's ancestors and those of Ko Hŭmdŏk, they are quite similar (W-4). The fact that his ancestors were Yin makes it possible to classify Ko Wŏngmang's epitaph under the "Yin and Qizi-type." More noteworthy is the unique genealogy of his epitaph. The ancestors that moved to Hebei 河北 were of the Bohai Gao clan, while others, his own clan, remained in Monan 漠南 (W-3). Therefore, Ko Wŏngmang's epitaph can be said to be of the "Yin and Qizi-type" with elements of the "Bohai-type."

As introduced in section 2, Kwen EunJu interpreted "Bohai" in the epitaph of Ko Hŭmdŏk as referring to the Parhae Dynasty.⁷⁴ This interpretation presupposes that the epitaphs of the father Ko Hŭmdŏk were made earlier than the epitaph of son Ko Wŏngmang. However, Ko Wŏngmang's epitaph was made at least a year earlier than that of his father. Therefore, Kwen EunJu's interpretation may not be valid. "Bohai" in the epitaphs does not mean the Parhae Dynasty becomes clearer by examining the third-period epitaphs.

Epitaph (高德墓誌銘)," *The Journal for the Studies of Korean History* 31 (May 2008).

74 Kwen EunJu, "Study of the Epitaphs of Go Heum-deok (高欽德) and Go Won-mang (高遠望), the displaced of Goguryeo (高句麗)."

In the third period, the "prototype" of Koguryō diaspora disappeared. In addition to the Yin and Qizi-type the Bohai type appeared. As can be seen from T-1 and T-2, this epitaph refers to the Bohai Commandery, not the Parhae Dynasty. The "Bohai-type" epitaphs, like the "Yin and Qizi-type," also describe an ancestor who migrated to Koguryō from China. The epitaphs of the Koguryō diaspora claimed that their origins were in China. Therefore, as in Ko Wōngmang's epitaph, the genealogy of the "Yin and Qizi-type" appears with elements of the Bohai Gao clan.

Finally, two epitaphs in the fourth period will be examined.

X-1 公諱震 字某 渤海人.

X-2 祖藏 開府儀同三司 工部尚書 朝鮮郡王 柳城郡開國公. 禰諱連 雲
麾將軍 右豹韜大將軍 安東都護. 公迺扶餘貴種 辰韓令族 懷化啓
土 繼代稱王 嗣爲國賓 食邑千室.⁷⁵

Y-1 夫人姓高氏 渤海人也 齊之諸裔也. ...

Y-2 曾祖 皇朝鮮王 祖諱連 皇封朝鮮郡王 父震 定州別駕.⁷⁶

Ko Chin 高震's epitaph (X) says that he originated from "Bohai" (X-1). Moreover, his grandfather was King Pojang, and he was a member of the former royal family of Koguryō (X-2). The question is whether this "Bohai" refers to the Parhae Dynasty. With the discovery of Mrs. Ko's epitaph, it is apparent that "Bohai" does not mean the Parhae Dynasty.

Mrs. Ko 高氏夫人 (Y) is the daughter of Ko Chin. Her epitaph says that she originated from "Bohai" like her father (Y-1). However, the clan is said to be "descended from Qi 齊之諸裔" during the Chunqiu period (Y-2), which indicates that the Bohai Gao clan descended from

75 *Tangdai Muzhi Huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1992), Dali 大曆 075.

76 *Quan Tang wen buyi* 6 全唐文補遺 6 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 1999), 459.

Qi. Therefore, the word "Bohai" in the epitaph of Mrs. Ko, without doubt, refers to the Bohai Commandery, not to the Parhae Dynasty.⁷⁷ Therefore, it is difficult to regard "Bohai" in X-1 as the Parhae Dynasty, and it should be categorized as the Bohai Commandery.

The two epitaphs in the fourth period mentioned above are all of the "Bohai-type." As only limited items can be examined, it is impossible to make a definite determination. However, it is remarkable that both their epitaphs fall under "Bohai-type." It seems that at that time, the custom of Koguryō diaspora with the name Ko and claiming to be of the Bohai Gao clan had already become custom.

The genealogies in the epitaphs with the family name Ko changed from "prototypes" to the "Yin and Qizi-type" or the "Bohai-type". This phenomenon indicates that their families considered their origin to be from mainland China. In other words, the assimilation of genealogies into Tang progressed through the four periods.

The genealogies of the Ko and Chōn clans are summarized in Table 3. It can be seen that the genealogy of the Chōn clan, like the Ko families' epitaphs, selected a more Chinese ancestry in the later generations. The change in the genealogy is not limited to the Chōn clan, but also other people of the Koguryō diaspora.

As seen above, the genealogies in the epitaphs of the Koguryō diaspora were increasingly assimilated into Tang. Does this mean that they assimilated into Tang society? If so, the date of marriage becomes a key indicator.⁷⁸

There are ten records of marriages among the Koguryō diaspora, as shown in Table 4. These dates indicate that the first or second generation of Koguryō diaspora married people who shared their family name and were found among fellow Koguryō diaspora. The two cases

77 Song Ki-ho, *Studies on the social and cultural history of Balhae state* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2011), 306-323.

78 Ma Chi, "Study on the Sinicisation of Barbarians into Tang," *Tangshiluncong* 唐史论丛 7 (February 1998).

of Ko Chesök and Mr. Chön, and Chön Hyönün 泉玄隱 and Mrs. Ko, definitely were marriages among members of the Koguryō diaspora. The other four, Yi Ūnji, Ko Hūmdök, Yi Hoe, and Wang Kyōngyo, were all married to women whose family names were Yu, Wang, Ko, Yi, also confirmed as Koguryō diaspora, except for Henan Cheng, who was Ko Hūmdök's later wife. Furthermore, in the above cases, all Koguryō diaspora reached adulthood approximately by the 700s.

Further, marriages of the generation born during the 700s show subtle changes in their spouses. There was only one case where Chön Pi was married to a person possibly of the Koguryō diaspora. It was much later in the 700s when seven cases of marriages were possible within Koguryō diaspora. It is difficult to think that these differences are coincidental.

This phenomenon suggests that by the 700s, there was solidarity among the Koguryō diaspora and they formed a marriage circle. However, around 720, it is presumed that solidarity among the Koguryō diaspora disintegrated and they began to marry Han Chinese. In short, it is assumed that there was a significant change from the 700s to 720s. Moreover, these changes indicate further assimilation into Tang society.

What changes took place at that time? The genealogical typology of each period, the period of activity of each generation, and the changes in marriage cases are summarized in Table 5. As shown in this table, Koguryō diaspora had a period of change of around 700. This period was the turning point in the history of the Koguryō diaspora when they shifted from the first generation to the second generation. In reality, it is assumed that by the latter half of the 8th century, their epitaphs were not different from those of other Tang people.

Conclusions

Previous studies have been uncertain about the number of epitaphs

of the Koguryō diaspora. Consequently, these studies did not identify some of the epitaphs as those of Koguryō diaspora. By summarizing past discussions and definitions of Koguryō diaspora within the Tang Dynasty, this article has determined that, at present, 26 of the discovered epitaphs are those of the Koguryō diaspora.

By typifying the genealogies in the Ko family epitaphs, it has been shown that the "Bohai-type" was the final stage of genealogies that referred to Koguryō diaspora within the Tang Dynasty. Therefore, the "Bohai" seen in epitaphs of Koguryō diaspora did not mean the Parhae Dynasty, but rather indicated the Commandery, which was the hometown of the Bohai Gao clan.

Through the analysis of the Ko family's epitaphs, it has become clear that their origins changed from the "prototypes" to the "Yin and Qizi-type" and then to the "Bohai-type." The changes in the Ko family and those in the Chōn family epitaphs were almost the same. Furthermore, the changes in the marriage cases and the generational interruption around year 700 show a turning point for Koguryō diaspora. The changes in the genealogies in the epitaphs indicate a phenomenon of assimilation to the Tang Dynasty.

The examination in this article clarified that there was a turning point in the 700s for Koguryō diaspora. Previous studies have been unable to determine when and how the Koguryō diaspora changed because of a lack of historical records. The key discovery of this article is that it indicates a specific turning point of the change from Koguryō to Tang society by examining 26 epitaphs. In the future, it will be necessary to investigate not only the upper-class of those who left epitaphs, but also the cases of peasants, lower-class soldiers, and musicians.

Table 1. The list of the Koguryō people's epitaphs

No	Name	Years of birth and death	Year of epitaph's production	Clan origin	Time of immigration to Tang
1	Ko Yomyo 高鏡苗	?~673	673	遼東	Ko Yomyo did.
2	Ko Chesök 高提昔	649~675	674	國內城	貞觀 period
3	Yi T'ain 李他仁	609~675	677	遼東柵州	Yi T'ain did.
4	Chōn Namseng 泉男生	634~679	679	遼東平壤城	666
5	Ko Hyōn 高玄	642~690	691	遼東三韓	666
6	Ko Chogyu 高足酉	626~695	697	遼東平壤	668
7	Ko Mu 高牟	640~694	699	安東	Ko Mu did.
8	Ko Chil 高質	626~697	700	遼東朝鮮	668
9	Ko Cha 高慈	665~697	700	朝鮮	668
10	Chōn Hōnsōng 泉獻誠	634~679	701	高句麗國	666
11	Ko Ŭldök 高乙德	618~699	701	卞國東部	661
12	Chōn Namsan 泉男産	639~701	702	遼東朝鮮	668
13	Ko Mokro 高木盧	650~730	730	渤海穆	668?
14	Chōn Pi 泉毖	708~729	733	京兆萬年	Great grandfather did.
15	Yi Indök 李仁德	673~733	733	樂浪	Unknown.
16	Wang Kyōngyo 王景曜	680~734	735	太原	Father 排須 did.

No	Name	Years of birth and death	Year of epitaph's production	Clan origin	Time of immigration to Tang
17	Yi Ŭnji 李隱之	655~705	739	遼東	668
18	Tu Sōnbu 豆善富	684~741	741	扶風平陵	Father 夫卒 did. 668?
19	Ko Tōk 高德	676~742	742	渤海	Grandfather 宗 did. 668?
20	Yu Wonjōng 劉元貞	?~744	744	後漢 東平憲王	Father 順 did.
21	Ko Wonmang 高遠望	697~740	745	殷	Grandfather 千 did.
22	Yi Hoe 李懷	677~745	745	趙郡贊皇	Grandfather 直 did in Tang Taizong period.
23	Ko Hūmdōk 高欽德	677~733	746 or 750	渤海	Father 千 did.
24	Mrs. Ko 高氏夫人	731~772	772	渤海	Great grandfather 藏 did.
25	Nam Tandōk 南單德	699~776	776	平壤	Grandfather 狄 did.
26	Ko Chin 高震	701~773	778	渤海	Grandfather 藏 did.
27	Ko Yōngsuk 高英淑	643~691	694	昌黎孤竹	Great grandfather did. The Northern Wei period.
28	Sasōn Ŭiil 似先義逸	786~850	850	遼東	Unknown.

Table 2. Periodization of the Koguryō diaspora's epitaphs

Period	Time of epitaph's production	Number of epitaphs	Whose epitaph
1	670s	4	Ko Yomyo 高鏡苗; Ko Chesök 高提昔; Yi T'ain 李他仁; Chŏn Namseng 泉男生
2	690s~700s	8	Ko Hyŏn 高玄; Ko Chogyu 高足酉; Ko Mu 高牟; Ko Chil 高質; Ko Cha 高慈; Chŏn Hŏnsŏng 泉獻誠; Ko Uldök 高乙德; Chŏn Namsan 泉男産
3	730s~740s	11	Ko Mokro 高木盧; Chŏn Bi 泉毖; Yi Indök 李仁德; Wang Gyöngyo 王景曜; Yi Ŭnji 李隱之; Tu Sŏnbu 豆善富; Ko Dök 高德; Yu Wonjŏng 劉元貞; Ko Wonmang 高遠望; Yi Hoe 李懷; Ko Hŭmdök 高欽德
4	770s	3	Ms. Ko 高氏夫人; Nam Tandök 南单德; Ko Chin 高震

Table 3. Type of genealogy of Ko and Chŏn clans

	Period 1 670s	Period 2 690s~700s	Period3 730s~740s	Period4 770s
Ko clan's epitaphs 【genealogy -type】	高鏡苗 【Prototypes】	高玄 【Prototypes】		
	高提昔 【Prototypes】	高牟 【Prototypes】		
		高乙德 【Prototypes】		
		高慈 【Prototypes】		
		高足酉 【Yin and Qizi-type】	高遠望 【Yin and Qizi-type】	
		高質 【Yin and Qizi-type】		
			高木盧 【Bohai-type】	高氏夫人 【Bohai-type】
			高德 【Bohai-type】	高震 【Bohai-type】
			高欽德 【Bohai-type】	

Chōn clan's epitaphs <clan origin>	泉男生 <Liadodong>	泉獻誠 <Koguryō>	泉愨 <Chang'an>	
		泉男産 <Liaodong>		

Table 4. The list of Koguryo diaspora's marriage

Name	Years of birth and death	Spouse
Ko Chesök 高提昔	649~674	Mr. Chōn 泉某
Yi Ŭnji 李隱之	655~705	Mrs. Yu 劉氏
Ko Hūmdök 高欽德	677~733	Mrs. Taiyuan Wang 太原王氏; Mrs. Henan Cheng 河南程氏
Yi Hoe 李懷	678~745	Mrs. Taiyuan Wang 太原王氏
Wang Kyōngyo 王景曜	680~734	Mrs. Yi 李氏; Mrs. Ko 高氏
Chōn Hyōnūn 泉玄隱	Unknown	Mrs. Ko 高氏
Nam Tandök 南单德	699~776	Mrs. Xiao 蕭氏
Ko Chin 高震	701~773	Mrs. Zhending Cheng 眞定程氏
Chōn Pi 泉愨	708~729	Mrs. Wang 王氏
Mrs. Ko 高氏夫人	731~772	Shao Shan 邵陝

Table 5. Span of the Koguryō diaspora's activities

Years	640s	650s	660s	670s	680s	690s	700s	710s	720s	730s	740s	750s	760s	770s	
Active period of the first generation	Red														
Active period of the second generation							Cyan	Cyan	Cyan	Cyan					
Active period of the third generation								Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	Dark Blue	
Active period of the fourth generation														Yellow	
Periodization of epitaphs	Period1				Period2				Period3				Period4		
Type of genealogy of Ko clans	【Proto】				【Proto】				【Yin and Qizi】 【Bohai】				【Bohai】		
					【Yin and Qizi】										

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<Abstract>

The Genealogy in the Koguryō Diaspora's Epitaph

Kiheinarichika Ueda

This study investigates the genealogies in Koguryō epitaphs, patterns them, and analyzes their changes over time. The Koguryō diaspora occurred during the Unification War under Silla. This study focuses on the Koguryō diaspora among the Tang who migrated to China. First, this study summarizes the research on genealogies of the Koguryō diaspora's epitaphs and indicates their problems. Second, it confirms the definition of the Koguryō diaspora and reviews the number of epitaphs. Third, it categorizes genealogies and analyzes their changes. Finally, this study clarifies the causes of the changes in the genealogies.

Keywords: epitaph, Parhae(渤海), Tang(唐), Chōn clan, Ko clans

〈국문초록〉

재당 고구려 유민 묘지명의 출자 표기와 그 유형

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본 논문은 고구려 유민의 묘지명에 보이는 출자 표기를 분석함을 통하여 그 조상 표기를 유형화하면서 시기에 따른 변화를 살핀다. 고구려 유민들은 이른바 신라의 삼국통일전쟁 과정에 있어 생겼다. 특히 본고는 고구려 멸망 이후 당으로 이주한 유민에 주목한다. 첫째로, 고구려 유민 묘지명에 관한 기왕의 연구를 정리하여 어떤 문제가 있는지 지적한다. 둘째로, 고구려 유민의 정의를 다시 확인하여 현재 발견된 묘지명 중 26점을 고구려 유민의 것으로 밝힌다. 셋째로, 고구려 유민의 묘지명에 보이는 출자 표기를 유형화하여 시기에 따라 그 표기가 변화한 것을 확인한다. 마지막으로 출자 표기가 변화한 원인을 살핀다.

주제어: 묘지명, 발해, 당(唐), 천남생(泉男生) 가문, 고씨(高氏) 가문

